

# The Anti-Slavery Bugle.

MARIUS R. ROBINSON, EDITOR.

"NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS."

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WHOLE NO. 593.

## The Anti-Slavery Bugle.

SPEECH OF MR. MONROE.

OF LORAIN,

IN COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

ON THE

Bill proposing to Amend Art. 5, Sec. 1, of the Constitution, by striking out the word "white."

Delivered January 22, 1857.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am not ignorant of the fact, that I labor under no small disadvantage in coming forward to advocate this Bill. In consequence of the degraded condition in which he has been placed and the prejudice in which we have been educated, the colored man and his cause have come to be associated in our minds with something ludicrous. We find it difficult to give him the place of a man in our esteem. We are accustomed to regard him as a being sent by Providence to us from the Continent to do us, and not us to him; for whom we are to do—being from whom we are to receive everything, but until whom we are to bestow almost nothing. It is not easy therefore, to secure that consideration for his claims which they really merit. The sufferings of a colored man do not affect us, as those of a white man. If a colored man dies, and leaves his wife and children without a provider, if he is buried by a Rail-road agent, if in some half civilized border region he is whipped to death to make him harder, or crime which it was afterwards discovered he was entirely innocent of; these things do not at all impress us like similar calamities befalling one of our own race. I have observed, in conversation with the members of this House in regard to the rights of the colored man, that they often find it difficult to restrain a smile when the subject is mentioned; however much their kindness for me might dispose them to listen with serious attention. Indeed, it must be confessed, that we have practically forgotten that the colored man has susceptibilities of happiness or misery in common with ourselves. The African race in this country might address us in language similar to that with which Shylock reminded the Christians of Venice, that they had a common nature with the Jew. "Hath not a Jew eyes?" he says, "Hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, affections, passions? fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer as a Christian is?" If you prick us, do we not bleed? If you tickle us, do we not laugh?" The state of feeling which is generally indulged towards the colored race, would justify a similar solicitation of our attention to the common wants, sorrows and enjoyments of our human nature. In advocating this Bill I cannot expect the general sympathy of this House or the press of this city. I stand, in measure, alone. But I dare not, for that reason, refrain from expressing the cherished convictions of myself and my constituents, especially when this Winter has been set apart as the proper time for proposing amendments to the Constitution. May I not, then, under these somewhat embarrassing circumstances, beg for the friendly attention of my esteemed associates in this House, and may I not be permitted to suggest to men who I know desire to be candid and impartial, that in considering so unpopular a proposition as the one before us, we are much more likely to err in giving it less weight than it deserves, than in giving it more weight than it deserves?

In developing my subject I shall, first, present some direct arguments in favor of striking out the word "white" from the Constitution; and secondly I shall notice some objections.

Before proceeding, however, to argue the question upon its intrinsic merits, I wish to call the attention of the Committee to the real nature of this Bill. You will observe that this Bill does not itself strike the word "white" from the Constitution; it merely submits to the people of Ohio the question whether they will strike out the word "white"; and it does this in a way which the Constitution itself has provided. There is nothing in this Bill which can be offensive to anybody, unless it is found in the fact that it assumes that it is safe to leave this question to the people. Is this very monstrous a proposition, in a democratic commonwealth, as some gentlemen seem to suppose? Cannot the people of Ohio be trusted with an amendment of their own Constitution? Are you afraid to trust them, because they will do it? In this connection I wish to mention a single fact. I have it in part to relieve the Bill of some of its difficulties, which seems to rest upon it in certain quarters, and in part to restate myself so far as may be, in the estimation of my friends from Hamilton County who were so severe on me the other day. Those gentlemen thought the proposed amendment so shocking that it should not be entertained by the House for a moment. One of them looked upon it as a proposition to degrade himself and his family; and another declared that no one having any sympathy with it, could be a member in good standing of the Democratic Church. On this point I wish to read to the Committee the words of a gentleman whom I claim as a personal friend—the gentleman who so ably represented the County of Auglaize in this House last winter. His views are recorded in a passage on page 5634 of the second volume of the Constitutional Debates.

"Mr. Sawyer. I have given my views upon this subject and shall not repeat them. I have now merely to say, that I have changed my opinion somewhat of gentlemen who advocate these peculiar views. I believe now that they are honest—and according to this to them, I ask the same consideration for myself, when I oppose their views. Moreover I am willing now, to vote for submitting the question of negro suffrage, to the people, in a separate clause."

"Now, sir, I had always supposed Mr. Sawyer was 'a member in good standing of the Democratic Church.' I had even supposed that he was an Elder in that church. And yet the proposition in my Bill, which I took to entertain, is precisely the proposition which Mr. Sawyer said in the Constitutional Convention he was not only willing to entertain, but would himself vote for."

"Our Bill's obscure and a' that. The rank is but the guinea's stamp. The man's gowd for a' that!"

"Then let us pray, that come it may—As come it will for a' that—That sense and worth, o'er a' the earth, May bear the gree, and a' that; For a' that, and a' that."

"It's coming yet for a' that, That man to man the world o'er, Shall brothers be for a' that?"

"Odi profanum vulgus et arco,"

which might be freely translated, "I hate the dirty rabble and kick them from my presence."

A modern Democrat would scarcely need stronger language than this to express his "natural prejudices" against a colored man. As perished Rome, so perished Athens and Lacedaemon. In the latter state, the work of political monopoly had gone on until of a population of a million only about twenty-five thousand had any share in the administration of affairs. The people hated the recognized authority of the country, and longed to throw off the yoke that pressed them. In time of peace they reflected a time of war, and made the experiment. Now came the earthquake shock Lacedaemon, they expected it as a divine interposition in their behalf. When the rocks of Mount Taygetus were toppled down upon the city of Sparta, and their masters were thrown into confusion, they sprang to arms. They heard the roar of the ocean and "the stir of the angry elements," the voice of their ancestral gods calling to them to break their chains; and the rumbling of the central earth was an-

met all the expenses of the General Assembly. Is it quite consistent in us, that we do not permit them to vote for members of that General Assembly—the body which is to determine how their money is to be spent? For many years it has been the steady policy of the Free States of our Union to extend the right of suffrage to the member of the State when, in the State of Connecticut that right was much more restricted than at present. One barrier after another, which had at first been thought insuperable, has been broken down. By what of necessity are we compelled to stop at this impediment—this line which separates men who have 50,000ths and 1/4 of another hundred? I am not an abstractionist? I am not one of those who would take such political axioms as I have mentioned, and run with them over the earth, fastening them to every man, woman and child that I might meet. But, sir, these maxims have at least this force, that they afford a strong presumption in favor of extending the right of suffrage to all classes of our citizens, restricted only by such natural and reasonable limits as all of us admit to be proper. Whenever it is proposed to extend the privileges of a citizen to any race or class that have not heretofore enjoyed them, these maxims throw the burden of proof upon those who oppose such a proposition. They therefore throw the burden of proof upon those who object to bestowing the elective franchise upon the colored man. He should become a voter, unless some sound and sufficient reason can be given for disfranchising him. It might be added in this place that that political party in our State which has been most opposed to striking out the word "white" from the Constitution, has declaimed most loudly in favor of these maxims of government, and has advocated their general application with the most earnestness.

3. My third argument in favor of striking the word "white" from the Constitution, is, that the permanent prosperity of the State of Ohio requires it at our hands. Even the superficial reader of history must have observed, that all the nations of the earth in different ages, have pursued, in greater or less degree, one or the other of two kinds of policy. In accordance with one of these, all the power of the nation has been withdrawn from the people and centred in the hands of a few privileged orders. This has never been done at once. The beginnings of most States have been Democratic. The work of centralization would commence by depriving some particular class or race of their rights—generally some class that were neither numerous, wealthy, nor powerful, and that, on account of some prejudice, were generally odious. Such a robbery would have several things to recommend it to the stronger classes. It would increase their own political power. It would be the disfranchised class being then too weak for resistance, and it would gratify that complacent feeling of superiority which raises us so much in our own estimation, which excites only pity and contempt for the kind of a creature. The policy of disfranchisement, thus inaugurated, was gradually extended. Those who employed it, one day became its victims the next. Class after class were disfranchised, until, at length, the immunities of the State were monopolized by an order of persons too few to constitute an appreciable part of the population. The consequences of all this were, that the sympathies of the people were completely alienated from the Government. They felt neither reverence nor affection for it; for it had not supplied them with a single motive for either, but rather many motives for hate and open hostility. They became turbulent in peace and dangerous in war. To the ruling authority they were merely "outside barbarians," and they secretly rejoice or openly exult in all its embarrassments. In such a state of things perished the proudest nations of antiquity. It is evident from reading Gibbon, and it is argued at length by an able writer in the Edinburgh Review, that the real cause of the fall of the Empire of the Caesars, was not the mere irruption of the barbarians—a thing which Rome had repelled again and again—but the ignorance of the people. It was that state of society which had turned all her proper defenders into enemies. The only class of people interested in the preservation of the state were a company of aristocrats, too few and too little injured to the hardships of war to make efficient soldiers. As soon as the banners of the Transalpine barbarians appeared below the mountains, the mass of the people flocked around them by thousands, and joined exultingly in the march against their own capital; and thus Rome, stripped and bleeding, was left defenseless to her enemies. The Romans of earlier days, strong in the Democratic equality of their citizens, and the Rome of later years, when the policy of disfranchising the people had already considerably advanced, is strikingly set forth by Macaulay:

"Horatius," quoth the Consul, "As thou sayest, so let it be," And straight against that great array For Romans in Rome's quarrel Spared neither land nor gold, Nor son nor wife, nor limb nor life, In the brave days of old,

Then none was for a party; Then all were for the State; Then the great man helped the poor, And the poor man loved the great.

Then lands were fairly portioned; Then spoils were fairly sold:

The Romans were like brothers, In the brave days of old.

Now Roman is to Roman More hateful than a foe,

And the Tribunes heard the high, And the Fathers grind the low.

And we wax hot in faction, In battle we wax cold;

Wherefore men fight not as they fought, In the brave days of old."

The mutual dislike of the higher and lower orders of the Roman Empire in its maturity, is abundantly illustrated in the literature of the time. Horace set to music his hatred of the laboring classes, in one of the most liquid of all his measures. He says:

"Odi profanum vulgus et arco,"

which might be freely translated, "I hate the dirty rabble and kick them from my presence."

A modern Democrat would scarcely need stronger language than this to express his "natural prejudices" against a colored man. As perished Rome, so perished Athens and Lacedaemon. In the latter state, the work of political monopoly had gone on until of a population of a million only about twenty-five thousand had any share in the administration of affairs. The people hated the recognized authority of the country, and longed to throw off the yoke that pressed them. In time of peace they reflected a time of war, and made the experiment. Now came the earthquake shock Lacedaemon, they expected it as a divine interposition in their behalf. When the rocks of Mount Taygetus were toppled down upon the city of Sparta, and their masters were thrown into confusion, they sprang to arms. They heard the roar of the ocean and "the stir of the angry elements," the voice of their ancestral gods calling to them to break their chains; and the rumbling of the central earth was an-

swept back by the tramp of indignant multitudes rising to plunder, burn and slay. Such have been the consequences of the policy which gradually withdraws political power from the people. But over against this there is another policy of a very different kind—a plan as peaceful and benevolent as it is just. It satisfies every man to the state by giving him a share in its privileges, as well as its burdens. It covers him with the full dignity of citizenship. It makes the man himself a part of the State. His own interests are identified with those of the government. When it prospers, his face is brightened by a smile; when it is in danger, he trembles for his own fireside. Thoughts of his country fill him with affection, enthusiasm and manly pride. His all is invested in her, and when she is in peril, it turns his honest blood to flame. He cherishes the State because the State cherishes him. Such are the results of a policy which engraves the royal virtue of patriotism upon the coarser but tougher stock of self-love. That patriotism which is not founded upon value received, may impart melody to the poet's verse or sonorousness to the orator's oration. But it is too ethereal and volatile to be useful in a community inhabited by beings with human nature in them. This policy places no reliance upon that patriotism, but it confidently looks for the support of the citizen, because it makes it his interest as well as his duty, to bestow it. The world has never yet seen this policy fully illustrated in practice, but whenever God shall give to any people sufficient wisdom, courage and humanity to adopt it, and carry it out in every state, then shall we behold a government that will be as permanent as the Earth and the Sky; for its institutions will be God's own work, and why should they not last as long as His other works?

I have described two kinds of policy. The question is, which we to-day is, which of these shall I adopt? The institutions of our Country, especially of our state, are still new. We may do much toward giving them permanent form. We are standing back near the springs of future glory or degradation of our Commonwealth. As it us to long to keep those springs pure, and direct their waters to the proper channel. There are already some channels through which that are to be followed that now a new policy which leads to ruin. We have begun by disfranchising the colored race. We did this because they were few and weak, and we disliked them. We are now making ourselves very comfortable over this achievement, for every citizen loves to feel that he is superior to somebody. But this dangerous policy will not stop here. If it would, it might be borne. The well-being of thirty thousand colored people and their posterity is an interest of immense value, and one that we cannot afford to overlook. Still it is a small interest in comparison with the prosperity of the whole State. It might be annihilated, and if the destruction would stop here, the Commonwealth, though injured, might still flourish. The whole race might be ground up in the cracking machinery of the State, and its wheels still move on and perform, in some sort, the proper functions. But this oppressive exclusiveness will not stop with the African. The spirit of monopoly in politics, as in every other case, is but the spirit of exclusiveness. The principles established, will extend itself. The principle which gives loathsome approval of the colored man's degradation, to-day, will be distorted with rage and alarm, at the new turn of events tomorrow. We shall next be asked—nay, we have already asked—to extend the term of naturalization so that all persons of foreign birth, will be virtually disfranchised. This is a reasonable demand, as it is a natural consequence of the original policy. This will be demanded, and carried into hopeless slavery. Since the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, with its encouragement to false swearing, this crime has increased, and is likely to become alarmingly prevalent. On several occasions this class of our people have suffered from assaults upon property and life. In the year 1834, in the cities of New York and forty-five in Philadelphia, attacks were entirely unprovoked, were made upon the houses of the colored people. About twenty-five men were either much injured or wholly destroyed.

The furniture of these dwellings was broken in pieces or heaped up in the streets for bonfires, and the inmates were cruelly assaulted and driven into the night air, without regard to age or physical condition. "In one house," says Philadelphia Gazette, "there was a corpse, which was thrown from the coffin, and in another a dead infant was taken out of the bed, and cast on the floor." The mother being at the same time barbarously treated." The National Gazette, another Philadelphia paper, says: "One of the negroes, a mulatto, was captured by an unfortunate cripple, who, unable to fly from the fury of the mob, was beaten by some of the refugees who had since died in consequence of the bruises and wounds inflicted. I am utterly opposed to any measure which contemplates the permanent separation of any class from participation in the affairs of government. But if the Constitution had read, 'All intelligent male citizens,' or words to that effect, instead of 'All white male citizens,' I should have felt much less disposed to have it amended than I am at present. If the colored man is ignorant, we should remember, with humility, that it has been caused, in part by the illiteracy of our course toward him heretofore, and that one of the most effectual modes of creating within him a healthy ambition to improve himself, is to make him an elector. If you will introduce a bill requiring a reasonable share of intelligence as a condition for exercising the privileges of an elector, I am not prepared to say I would not vote for it. But I should wish the bill to assume such a form as would encourage the ignorant man to struggle for a removal of his disqualification, and an admission to all the franchises of a citizen at an early day. This, with our system of free schools and numerous other facilities for intellectual improvement, would be difficult to accomplish. I am utterly opposed to any measure which contemplates the permanent separation of any class from participation in the affairs of government. But if the Constitution had read, 'All intelligent male citizens,' or words to that effect, instead of 'All white male citizens,' I should have felt much less disposed to have it amended than I am at present. If the colored man is ignorant, we should remember, with humility, that it has been caused, in part by the illiteracy of our course toward him heretofore, and that one of the most effectual modes of creating within him a healthy ambition to improve himself, is to make him an elector.

For the last two days the Jersey steamboats have been loaded with numbers of the colored population, who, fearful of their lives are not safe in this, determined to seek refuge in another State. On the Jersey side, tents were erected, and the negroes have taken up a temporary residence, until a prospect shall be offered for their permanent location in some place of security and liberty." The testimony of these papers is entirely unimpeachable, not only on account of their respectable character, but also because they had never sympathized with the movement on behalf of the colored people of this country, and could have had no motive to exaggerate their sufferings. I believe that scenes somewhat similar to these have occurred even in Ohio, but for the honor of our Commonwealth, we have no such hardy race protection, and the only way in which this can be secured to them is by making the ballot-boxes heavy and swallows of our tumultuous populations, no distinct race can be secure in property and person without the safeguard of the elective franchise. Beside this upon the colored man, and the negroes as well as the colored people, by an unfortunate cripple, who, unable to fly from the fury of the mob, was beaten by some of the refugees who had since died in consequence of the bruises and wounds inflicted. I am utterly opposed to any measure which contemplates the permanent separation of any class from participation in the affairs of government. But if the Constitution had read, 'All intelligent male citizens,' or words to that effect, instead of 'All white male citizens,' I should have felt much less disposed to have it amended than I am at present. If the colored man is ignorant, we should remember, with humility, that it has been caused, in part by the illiteracy of our course toward him heretofore, and that one of the most effectual modes of creating within him a healthy ambition to improve himself, is to make him an elector.

Again, it is said that our delicate relations with our Southern brethren forbid our favoring this amendment. The meaning of this objection seems to be something like this. The United States constitute one great nation. It is desirable therefore that their institutions should be homogeneous; as the colored man is not a citizen in the South, he cannot be here; otherwise there will be a conflict of institutions, the system of Slavery will be insecure, and the internal relations of the different sections of our Union will be disturbed. The principle which is assumed as the basis of this objection is one from which I dissent. It is that the great ruling, vitalizing principle of this government was intended to be, and is, human Slavery, and that our institutions must be made homogeneous by conforming them all to its requirements—the great national key-note, given out amid the din of the Revolution, is that of human bondage, and that harmony can be produced only by keeping all parts of our policy in tune with this. My principle is a different one. I hold that the great national key-note is that of liberty—where we bound as nearly as possible to the honor of our country, we owe this to our Southern states, who do not here; otherwise there will be a conflict of institutions, the system of Slavery will be insecure, and the internal relations of the different sections of our Union will be disturbed. The principle which is assumed as the basis of this objection is one from which I dissent. 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this subject at this or at any time. There is no necessity for strife among neighbors and fellow citizens in the consideration of this or any other grave question involving the welfare of the State. We are not willing to acknowledge the free, discussion, even of this subject, without vicious strife, for the humiliating fact should be found to exist, we would ever shun the Divine rule, "First pure then peaceful." If, as many of the ablest expositors of our agricultural and commercial interests in the State firmly believe, the emancipation of the comparatively few slaves in our midst would add immensely to the aggregate wealth and prosperity of the State after defraying all the expenses incidental to such a change, in the increased value and productiveness of property within our bounds why not take a decisive step in that direction? In the name of the order, intelligent and patriotic of Missouri, we ask, why not?

Other States of our glorious confederacy have emancipated, and the civilized world commend them; why may not we? Is there less of intelligence, less morality, less love of order than us, now than with them? Let whoever thinks so, now speak. We do not believe it, but if you do, contrary speak. We believe the people of Missouri fully competent and capable if they shall think well, peacefully, and without the infringement of the rights of any, to emancipate their slaves; and to do so, we believe, would subserve in the highest possible degree, the interests of the State.

But there are other and higher and holier considerations which lead us to desire—if in God's providence it may be accomplished—emancipation. We believe slavery to be a great evil, and cannot, so long as we have a heart to feel for others' woes—a Christian heart—cease to desire the removal of the evil. Let not our friends be alarmed, or our enemies, to hear us, rejoice at the frank avowal of our sentiments; entertain them, we hesitate not to avow them; we have nothing to disown in this matter; we hold no sentiments, advocate no measures, pursue no policy which we would not hold, advocate and pursue anywhere in this republic.

We are not here to intermeddle, at this time, or any other time, through this or any other medium, with the civil relation between master and slave, and cannot, without peace and cheerfully to pursue our avocation as an editor in a religious denomination whose known principles and usages on this subject ought to save us the labor of even so much as an explanation. In this, as in other matters, we proclaim to the world, "we demand no man." However deeply we may desire an existing evil, and however ardently we may desire its removal, we regard ourselves obliged, as Christian citizens, to promote all necessary change in a lawful, peaceful manner. Yet surely as a religious journal, we cannot ignore a subject of such paramount importance, as a question of Christian morality.

In the attitude this subject is here assuming, an attitude, as it should be, given by its own people and representatives, uninfluenced by foreign elements, there are just these two views which may be taken, these two positions assumed: Slavery, as it exists among us, is either an evil or a blessing; if the former, let it be abolished; if the latter, let it be fostered.

Let us have no dodging, no side issues wrung in. The scheme by which this is to be effected, in all its details, can, by the wisdom of our statesmen and philanthropists, be wrought out in due time, and the means necessary to the accomplishment of so grand and glorious a consummation—a consummation over which christian men and angels would shout—can be secured.

In this we would not, were we now ready for it, suffer ourselves to dictate, but would simply suggest, that the Methodist Episcopal Church, with other evangelical churches—continues still the steadfast friend and patron of colonization, until something more fitting shall be presented. Our agents are still in the field, funds are being collected, and other efficient means are being employed to carry on this glorious work.

We declare that here every man is without excuse. If any decline to favor emancipation, we suppose it must be from one of two considerations: either they have not the courage to declare their wishes, lest they incur the displeasure of some, or they do not consider slavery an evil but a blessing, and therefore do not desire its extinction.

Will the religious press of the State speak out upon the subject? We wait with anxiety to see: not that we fear the consequences for ourselves if they should not come to the rescue, for we unquestionably assert that whenever we think we may forward the cause of emancipation by so doing, shall speak, regardless of what others may do or fail to do; but we are confident that, should the religious presses and the churches of Missouri give their decided influence for emancipation, it will go very far toward the accomplishment of this most desirable object.

### KIDNAPPING AND RESCUE OF A CITIZEN OF NEW YORK.

We find in the New York Tribune an account of the kidnapping of Antony Adams, a citizen of that state. The facts are these.

Antony Adams a native of New York shipped in November 1855 on board a vessel bound from New York to Plymouth, North Carolina. At the latter place he was taken ill and left confined in the hospital by his vessel; after his recovery he was casually on board a steam boat running to Edenton N. C. The boat got under way before he was aware of the fact, the captain prevented his jumping overboard and swimming ashore, bound him with a rope and on his arrival at Edenton committed him to jail, where he remained from the 20th of June 1856 to the 7th of January 1857. In this time he had a trial which he was fined \$500 and sentenced to be sold as a slave for a term of years for coming in the state to reside. The man uniformly assumed himself a free man, and Col. Payne, a representative in Congress from North Carolina interested in his behalf, obtained a temporary suspension of his sentence and thus gave opportunity for his friends in New York to take measures for his release.

In July last Mr. James Bennett a resident of Adam's native town was informed of his situation and prepared affidavits of his freedom and forwarded them to the Clerk of the Court in Carolina. From these they heard no report till the November following, when a reply arrived that unless an agent came on to identify the man he would probably lie in jail during the winter and then be sold for the fees; that the documents forwarded were worthless.

On the receipt of this letter Mr. Bennett conferred with some friends, and it was thought that the attention of the Executive of the State of New York should be called to the subject, and request the Governor to send an agent, and in the name and by the authority of the State procure the release of one of her citizens.

For the remaining facts of the case we copy the language of the Tribunes correspondent.

It was while these papers were at Albany, awaiting the decision of Gov. Clark, that the writer of this received a letter from the Hon. A. S. Murray, Washington, D. C., covering a letter addressed to W. H. Seward, esq. This letter, and the reply of Gov. Seward, are essential to a full history of the case, and I insert them accordingly.

The letter of Mr. Murray urged the necessity of sending a person immediately to Edenton to identify Adams and bring him home. The following is the letter to Gov. Seward:

"EDENTON, N. C., Dec. 14, 1855.

"W. H. SEWARD, esq.—The object of this letter is to inform you that a black man, or negro, calling himself Antony Adams, has been in jail here since the 20th of June, at an expense of thirty cents per day, and will be sold, if his identity cannot be established by some respectable white person. His friends have been informed of his whereabouts, and that he certainly will be sold for his jail fees if some one who knows him does not come on and release him. He appears to be a quiet man."

"His offense is that he came to reside in the State. Our laws will not allow Northern free ne-

groes to settle among us.

"It is a burning shame that the citizens of Port Jervis should allow a citizen to remain in jail simply because they are too parsimonious to come out and recognize him, and a damnable shame that the great State of New York, after shrieking for negro freedom—voting for Fremont and free negroes—should abandon one of her citizens. You being at the head of your Republican party—a man of sense and cunning—is the reason why I address you. If you will not help your friend, you must call on your friend Horace Greeley. Had it not been for Col. R. T. Paine, who is in the House of Representatives, the negro would have been sold long since. Call on Col. Paine for information."

"Yours, &c., FRED L. ROBERTS."

To this letter Mr. Seward replied as follows:

"WASHINGTON, Dec. 27, 1855.

"Dear Sir: Your letter of the 14th instant, informing me that a black man, calling himself Antony Adams, has been in jail since the 20th of June last, at an expense of thirty cents per day, and will be sold if his identity cannot be established by some respectable white person—That his friends have been informed of his whereabouts, and that he certainly will be sold for his jail fees if some one who knows him does not come on and release him, has just been received.

"The subject is entirely new to me, and I thank you very sincerely, for the information.

"I have at once written to a discreet person at Port Jervis, requiring that an agent, qualified by the necessary personal acquaintance with the person, may go to your place and effect the release.

"Meantime, I beg you to do me the favor to obtain a statement of the jail fees and other expenses required for his liberation, and to draw on me, at this place, for the amount, and I will pay you on sight of your draft, so that the danger which might result from delay at Port Jervis may be avoided.

"I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"FREDRICK R. ROBERTS, esq., Edenton, N. C."

Without waiting for a reply from the Governor, as soon as the writer of this received information from Washington, requesting us to send an agent to North Carolina to identify Adams, he called upon the Hon James Bennett, and suggested that he should proceed at once to Edenton, N. C., and release Adams.

To this, fully consented, and on the 29th December left Port Jervis on his mission.

Just as he was leaving, however, he received the following letter from Albany:

"State of New York, Executive Department, Albany, Dec. 26, 1855.

"DEAR SIR: The Governor is very desirous of aiding you in the rescue of the kidnapped Adams, but he is advised that the law makes no provision for Adam's rescue by authority of the State. He is therefore reluctantly compelled to return you the papers.

"Yours, respectfully,

"GEO. E. BAKER, Private Sec.

"JAMES BENNETT, esq."

Mr. Bennett proceeded at first to Washington, where he was introduced to Colonel Paine of the 1st Regt. of Artillery, and North Carolina, and from him learned the true history of Adams's imprisonment, the interest that several of the most influential men of Edenton had manifested to effect the release of Adams, and the proper course for him to pursue to effect Adams's release.

After various delays on the way, Mr. Bennett finally arrived at Edenton; and, as the Hon. Mr. Paine had given him letters, and also had apprised his friends that Mr. Bennett was on his way to identify Adams, no difficulty was interposed, and Mr. Bennett, with Adams in charge, left Edenton, N. C., with this pass:

"Personally appears before me, one of the Justices of the Peace in and for the County of Chowan, and State of North Carolina, the bearer, Anthony Adams, and proves by James Bennett, esq., that he, the said Adams, is a citizen of the State of New York, consequently entitled to all the privileges of a free person of color.—Jan. 7, 1857.

"ALEXANDER CHESINE, J. P.

"State of North Carolina, Chowan County—I, William K. Skinner, Clerk of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions of the County and State aforesaid, do hereby certify that Alexander Chesine whose genuine signature appears above, is an acting Justice of the Peace in and for said County, duly commissioned and qualified.

"Given under my hand and seal of said Court at office in [u. s.] Edenton, this 7th day of January, 1851.

"WM. R. SKINNER, Clerk."

With this certificate Mr. Bennett left Edenton, under the impression that he and his charge would have no further difficulty in passing through the States on his journey toward the North Star.

But arriving at Portsmouth, Va., he found a large crowd directly across his track, and was flatly told by the captain of the steamboat upon which he wished to take passage to Baltimore that he could proceed no further with Adams, unless he (Bennett) could prove by some person in Portsmouth that the colored man with him was a free man. Mr. Bennett in vain showed his pass from the Clerk of Edenton—in vain offered to make affidavit before the Mayor that Adams was a free man. The oath of some person in Portsmouth, who was aware of the fact, the captain prevented his jumping overboard and swimming ashore, bound him with a rope and on his arrival at Atwater committed him to jail, where he remained from the 20th of June 1856 to the 7th of January 1857. In this time he had a trial which he was fined \$500 and sentenced to be sold as a slave for a term of years for coming in the state to reside. The man uniformly assumed himself a free man, and Col. Payne, a representative in Congress from North Carolina interested in his behalf, obtained a temporary suspension of his sentence and thus gave opportunity for his friends in New York to take measures for his release.

Mr. Bennett recollects that while staying at Portsmouth he had a trial which he remained from the 20th of June 1856 to the 7th of January 1857. In this time he had a trial which he was fined \$500 and sentenced to be sold as a slave for a term of years for coming in the state to reside. The man uniformly assumed himself a free man, and Col. Payne, a representative in Congress from North Carolina interested in his behalf, obtained a temporary suspension of his sentence and thus gave opportunity for his friends in New York to take measures for his release.

Arriving at Baltimore, Mr. Bennett repaired at once to the railroad station and asked for tickets to Philadelphia and Adams. "Who will respond for the colored man?" asked the ticket agent. "I am a colored man," replied Mr. Bennett. "Ah! my dear Sir, that will not answer. We cannot take the colored man unless you give bonds to the amount of \$1,000." Remonstrance was all in vain. The bond must be given by somebody who was known to the agent.

Mr. Bennett did not know a single person in Baltimore, and of course could not at once comply with this requirement. Determined not to be foiled, he started for the Washington depot, and took the cars for that city, taking Adams with him (not daring to leave him in Baltimore, lest he might be again kidnapped), and the gentlemanly agent making not the least objection to his having a colored man with him, as he was going South. Mr. Bennett again called upon the Hon. A. S. Murray, and the Hon. W. H. Seward, and stated the dilemma in which he found himself. The latter gentleman gave Mr. Bennett a letter to two gentlemen in Baltimore, either of whom was requested to give the requisite bond, and Mr. Bennett left Willard's, quite sure that all further trouble and delay were at an end.

Arrived at the station in Washington. "I will take two tickets for Baltimore—for myself and one for this colored man."

The agent, looking at Mr. Bennett, asked, "Who is responsible for the black man?"

I am, Sir; and here the certificates that Adams is a free man.

"Can't help it, Sir. You must give Willard or some one else to certify these facts, or he can't go."

Arrived at the station in Washington. "I will take two tickets for Baltimore—for myself and one for this colored man."

"But I will lose the train. I assure you this is a free man, and I have a perfect right to carry him with me."

"Can't help it, Sir. You must give Willard or some one else to certify these facts, or he can't go."

Arrived at Willard's again must Mr. Bennett go, and did go—and lost that train—and procured the required certificate, and then Mr. Bennett and Adams were again on their way for Baltimore.

"His offense is that he came to reside in the State. Our laws will not allow Northern free ne-

groes to settle among us.

The first gentleman to whom Mr. Bennett gave his letter from Gov. Seward, proceeded at once to the post office, gave the required bond of \$1,000, and helped Willard get into the State of New York, after shrieking for negro freedom—voting for Fremont and free negroes—should abandon one of her citizens. You being at the head of your Republican party—a man of sense and cunning—is the reason why I address you. If you will not help your friend, you must call on your friend Horace Greeley. Had it not been for Col. R. T. Paine, who is in the House of Representatives, the negro would have been sold long since. Call on Col. Paine for information."

MR. ROBINSON—Allow me to call the attention of your readers to the institution whose name is at the head of this article. While all liberal people rejoice in the advancement made by Oberlin and Antioch upon the educational plans of older and more conservative schools, New York Central College appears to me to demand special consideration.

I am not aware that any other Collegiate institution than this, has stood forth as the true representative of christian freedom, and entire human equality. It has laid its foundations upon the great truths that underlie all the fragmentary reforms of the present day—the equality, not of men, but of the human race, and the entire freedom of the human soul.

One of its distinguishing features is the absence of sectarian control. Liberty of conscience is fully recognized, and while religious exercises are observed in the institution, no regulations have ever been adopted, showing partiality to any form of religious faith.

The complexion of America it regards as a libel upon humanity, a barrier to human progress, hence its doors are alike open to all, no matter what may be the tint which nature has laid upon the skin. Usually from one-eighth to one-fifth of its students are colored, and at the present time two of its professors belong to the generally proscribed class.

The complexion of America it regards as a libel upon humanity, a barrier to human progress, hence its doors are alike open to all, no matter what may be the tint which nature has laid upon the skin. Usually from one-eighth to one-fifth of its students are colored, and at the present time two of its professors belong to the generally proscribed class.

The inequality of educational privileges growing out of woman's alleged inferiority is another heresy which practically denies. There, the College course is open to her—she may pursue science in all its departments as extensively as the young man; and there too, she is a member and holds office in the literary societies of the institution, and is required to exercise her talent in declamation and debate. As woman has become an acceptable public speaker, and half the literary associations in the country must include at least one female as one of the lecturers of its course, it is well that at an early period she should have that discipline that will fit her for the station she may be called upon to fill.

As this College conforms itself to these great principles of freedom and equality, and rejects that expediency which society dictates, you will not expect to hear that it is the most popular of schools, and yet, I am happy to say, it seems to be at the present time decidedly healthy and prosperous.

Some one has said that it takes unwearied pains to get a truth believed, but a lie may be left to itself to make its way in the world. Sectarian schools are sustained by sects, literary and classical schools for young men have long had a strong hold upon the hearts of the people, while the young ladies' boarding school has a peculiar charm that does away all opposition, and causes a liberal bestowment of means. If professed reformers who labor to do away the spirit of caste, and who accept the democratic and correct doctrine that the sexes should not only be educated alike, but together, had a little more policy and worldly wisdom, New York Central College would never have been put in requisition upon the oaths of the chief.

But now that he is free, no time should be lost by the friends of freedom in Congress to secure the passage of a law by which the General Government shall give the same protection to a freedman in a Slave State as it does to a slave owner over his Free State.

The fourth article second section of the Constitution of the United States declares: "The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States." Did Anthony Adams, the man of the hour, receive this rights?

The Legislature of the State of New York will in its duty toward the citizens, if it does not pass a law at its present Session, authorizing the Executive to act efficiently in similar cases.

Very respectfully, C. PORT JERVIS, Jan. 30, 1857.

**THE FLORIDA WAR.**—The war with the Florida Indians, bids fair to be determinate. It is now raging with as much vigor as is compatible with the numbers employed. It is said that the Indian warriors, all told, number one hundred and sixty. These General Harney, with the Federal forces is seeking to subdue. The Tribune says that "From trustworthy authority we are informed that in every instance of a treaty with these Indians the terms of it have invariably been first violated by the whites; while millions of dollars have been expended, and hundreds of valuable lives vainly sacrificed to effect the subjugation or removal of the red men."

When I learned that the course of instruction there was not only impartial but thorough, and when I saw the self-sacrificing spirit of its professors, and the few who conduct its affairs, I could well appreciate the remark of Theodore Parker, who said, when he visited the institution, that he never so much wanted to be rich.

The main building, which is a fine one and finely situated, will accommodate about three hundred students. The number is considerably less than that now. You are aware doubtless that one of our Salem Teachers, Howard W. Gilbert has recently accepted the professorship of Modern Languages there, for which he is eminently qualified. J. E. J.

**OBITUARY.**

DIED—At his residence in Atwater on the 7th inst., FRIEND COOK, M. D. Dr. Cook was a man of unusual intelligence on all subjects, thoroughly acquainted with his profession—of liberal views, and benevolent heart. He has for many years been known as an anti-slavery man and in this as in all his relations in life was most reliable man. He was a member of the last Constitutional Convention in Ohio, and exerted himself with much zeal and industry to save to the State from the dishonor of disfranchising any of her citizens on account of complexion or race. His departure is a serious loss to a large circle of friends and to the community where he long exerted a most decided and valuable influence.

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